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CHAPTER I

THE BARAKA (HOLINESS OR BLESSED VIRTUE): ITS PREVALENCE

770 792 196 The Arabic word baraka means "blessing". In Morocco it is used to denote a mysterious wonder-working force which is looked upon as a blessing from God, a "blessed virtue". It may be conveniently translated into English by the word "holiness".

A person who possesses baraka in an exceptional degree is called by a term corresponding to our "saint".

[36] The Berbers have berberised forms of the Arabic terms, such as ssiyid, ssaleh, and lwali; but among many of them the usual or exclusive name for a saint is amrabad or amrabd (plur. imrabden; Ait Waryager, Temsaman, At Ubahti, Ait Sadden), derived from the Arabic mrabat or mrabt, which, as we shall soon see, is not used in Morocco as a general term for saints, but only for a certain class of saints and their descendants.

[62] It is interesting to notice that certain terms for saints are also used to denote places connected with them; this shows how intimate the connection between them really is. Thus the word siyid is applied to a place where a saint is [63] buried, whether it be indicated by a qobba or bit or haus or in any other way, and some people use the same term for a place which is venerated because a saint has prayed or rested there; in Fez, however, the latter would be called the mzara or halwa of the siyid So-and-so. Other words which are used both for saints and their sanctuaries are fqer (Dukkala), agurram (Shloh), and amrabd or amrabad (Ait Sadden, Temsaman, Ait Waryager).

[64] The sanctity of a saint is communicated not only to the building in which he is buried and the objects contained in it, but to everything inside his horm or harm, that is, the sacred domain of the saint. The horm may be restricted to the building over his grave, but it may also extend far beyond it.

[65] A still more comprehensive term than horm is zawia (Berb. zzawit [Shloh], zzawit [Ait Sadden, At Ubahti, Ait Waryager], zzaust [Temsaman]), in one of the senses in which this word is used. The town or village round the shrine of some great saint is often called his zawia.

FOOTNOTES:

101 691 114 1--This interpretation of a major sociological conceptualization of Moroccan political history, the dissident Berber tribal area, the area of customary law, as opposed to the Arab area under government control where Muslim law was administered, conforms in all respects to the views of the majority of French observers, who label siba as "anarchy" (which, indeed, it literally means: "anarchy, abandon") and who often overlook the fact that the rural areas of the Blad al-Makhzin were also organized on a tribal basis.

101 671 114 113 648 A later definition by Carleton Coon holds that the Blad al-Makhzin, the land over which the power of the Moroccan Sultans extended, was a "land of order", while the Blad as-Siba, whose inhabitants recognized the Sultan's authority spiritually while denying it temporally, was a "land of insolence" (cf. Carleton S; Coon, Caravan: The Story of the Middle East, New York: Henry Holt, 1951, pp. 295-323). This definition, though linguistically inexact, attains a higher degree of sociological sophistication than the preceding one because of and despite the fact that it pushes the analogy a step further.

More recently, Ernest Gellner has defined siba as"institutionalized dissidence" and "marginal or dissident tribalism" (Saints of the Atlas, London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1969, pp. 2-5), and in a review article of two books by Moroccans who seek to interpret various aspects of their country's history ("The Struggle for Morocco's Past", The Middle East Journal, XV, 1, 1961, pp. 79-90, a review of Abdelaziz Benabdallah, Les Grands Courants de la Civilisation du Maghreb, Rabat 1958, and Mohammed Lahbabi, Le Governement Marocain à l'Aube du XXe Siècle, Rabat 1958), he contrasts the traditional French view of the makhzin-siba dichotomy and a radically reinterpreted view advanced by Lahbabi in which "the same (Gellner's italics) facts, the existence of dissident areas, which were used by the French to illustrate the failure and impotence of Moroccan government are used...to provide the basis for a Consent (hence Anti-Absolutist) Theory of the Moroccan historic constitution." Thus the tribes on the shadowy borderland between the makhzin and siba spheres of influence were presented with a sort of Social Contract situation.

101 196 668 It must be noted that in the Rif the condition known elsewhere as siba was termed Ripublik, and that this not only has nothing to do with 'Abd al-Krim's "Rifian Republican State" (Dawla Jumhuriya Rifiya), but also predates it in time. A primary aim of the'Rifian Republic", indeed, was to do away with the Ripublik.

181 104 2--Blanco does not define any of these terms at this point; he only does so later, in his MSS. chapter on Family Organization. All of them are loaded, as he hints, with institutional implications, and we propose to give here only thumbnail definitions for the reader's convenience. Twiza (Rifian dhiwiza) is perhaps best translated as "corvée", a group work project, generally organized for one day only, such as reparation of an irrigation ditch by those who use it, or voluntary assistance given by his neighbors to a man building a house, or, indeed, obligatory work of a communal nature (such as road repair) undertaken on behalf of the tribal notables or the government; this last, however, is usually termed rkwarfi (an Arabization and Rifianiza-

000 40--Adultery in the Rif is almost always punished by the death of both the guilty parties, if caught in flagrante delictu. This, at any rate, is the procedure which is most favored culturally, and even if the Moroccan Government attaches a six-month or a year's jail sentence to it, many Rifians follow this path of action in such a case.

41--Ar-raqba, literally "neck" in Arabic, is the term used by the Algerian Kabyles to designate blood-vengeance. The Rifians use another Arabic word, l-'adawa, Rifianized to r'adhawth, meaning "hatred, hostility".

[114] 42--Dhwara is synonymous with nubth, and here Blanco is again in
[233] error, for, in the Central Rif, taking goats to pasture is neither
[851] a communal activity, nor is it done in turn by each small boy or girl in the community, but by the children of each nuclear family on their or its own account.

[114] 43--Blanco's phrase is Es, pues, una sociedad turnante, and this notion, in my opinion, is one of its author's most significant contributions to the study of Rifian social organization. With respect
[196] to Blanco's definition of nubth, it should be stated that the lexical meaning of the word is "turn", but that in the Rif it refers to a nuclear family, or that of a widow with unmarried children. The
[651] most significant function of the nubth in a wider sense, perhaps, is that the annual tirtib tax, calculated on the basis of ownership of animals and crop-yield, worked out on this basis in each village community in a tribe. It should here be noted that the tirtib tax was officially abolished in Morocco in the summer of 1961.

[144] 44--It is maintained by both Rifians and Berbers in the Central Atlas that a man may have an unlimited number of wives at the same time
[691] provided that every fifth one is a negress. Not only is this fact considered to be sanctioned by the Shari'a, but I actually knew one Rifian qa'id (now deceased) who had 4 ordinary Rifian wives and a fifth one who was black.

[171] 45--Both widow inheritance (wife marries deceased husband's brother) and the sororate (husband marries deceased wife's sister) are standard practice in the Rif, as well as elsewhere in the Muslim world (see Coon, 1931, op. cit., and E. D. Chapple & C. S. Coon, Principles of Anthropology, New York: Holt, 1942). An outstanding example of widow inheritance is furnished by a woman I know (an informant's mother, to be exact) in the highlands of Aith Waryaghar, who married two brothers in succession (the first was killed in a bloodfeud and the second during the Rifian War of 1921-26) before finally marrying a third brother (the informant's father) and having five children by him!

[881] 46--Puberty rites, in the proper sense of the term, do not exist for
[171] either sex in the Muslim Middle East. That a boy or girl is old enough to fast during Ramadan is a tacit sign that puberty has commenced. In the Rif, at this time, boys help their fathers in the fields and girls help their mothers in the house; it is only children of pre-puberty age, of either sex, who pasture goats.

000 in the social organization of the area as a whole.

57--Blanco mistakenly transcribes this as islifen. In Rifian, this has an entirely different meaning, for isrif (pl. isrifen) is an affinal kinship term signifying "wife's sister's husband". Thus, two men who marry sisters are isrifen to each other.

[196] [114] [113] 58--Jma'ath does not, except in official Spanish parlance, properly mean council. The term for council is Aitharba'in or Aitarba'in (sing. utharb'in), literally "people (e.g. representatives) of the people" and not "sons of (or people of) the forty", as numerous other authorities (including Coon, op. cit., p. 96, and José Martos de Castro, "Lo Bereber en Marruecos y Sus Relaciones con lo Ibero", Alta Comisaria de España en Marruecos: Labor de España en Africa, Barcelona 1946, pp. 309-333, have indicated. Lionel Galand, however, favors on linguistic grounds the "people of the forty" etymology for the Berbers of the Sus, however (personal communication).

59--What a Rifian generally says is Nish zi dharwa n Yran, "I am from the sons of so and so", mentioning the name of his dharfiqth rather than the word dharfiqth itself, when the question of lineage identity, within the clan, comes up.

60--Definitions of this kind were very much the rule, it might be added, among both the French and Spanish tribal administrators, most of whom were military men.

[114] 61--This is an instance of Blanco's constant inclination to divorce what he considers "social units" from those he considers "political units". The distinction, of course, is very largely an artificial one, for the higher up the purely "social" units go in the scale, the more "political" they tend to become, and vice versa. It is, once again, a classic example of European rigidity in classification (and the ever-present desire to put abstractions such as sociopolitical units into neat pigeonholes) as opposed to the essential fluidity (and consequent tendency to elude neat pigeonholing) which, we feel, is so basic to an understanding of these units, not only as they exist in Rifians' minds but as models structurally conceived by the anthropologist. And this means, above all, that each unit can only be understood in relation to all the others, not only on the same level of segmentation, but on those above and below it as well.

It is quite true that in some individual jma'ath-s, lack of kinship between component dharfiqin is an overriding factor in group composition; but this is by no means the case for all of them, and is really the exception rather than the rule.

62--This latter may be the correct derivation; Rifians who know enough Arabic to be conscious of the metathesis (and they are few) sometimes consciously pronounce the word dhafriqth. But the first possibility seems equally valid, that the word is derived from the root r-f-q, "to accompany" and that it refers hence to "men who march and fight together". Cf. Jacques Dumaine (probably a pseudonym for Robert [115] Montagne), "Les Eléments du Problème du Rif", Renseignements Coloniaux et Documents Publiés par le Comité Algérie-Tunisie-Maroc, No. 2, bis, 1926, pp. 89-99.

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124--This lineage bears no relationship whatsoever to the jma'th of the same name in the Plain of Alhucemas; the latter, in any case, belongs to another clan, the Aith 'Ari.

125--The following lineages of the Aith Waryaghar are considered to be "Aith Ya'ra" or Bni Marin (and thus Zanatan) by descent:
In Aith 'Adhiya of Aith Bu 'Ayyash: Aith Tizi and Aith Fars in the jma'th of Ighmiren, Isi'arithen in that of Imudh, and Aith Busta in that of Tazurakhth.
In Aith Bu 'Ayyash Proper of Aith Bu 'Ayyas: Aith Muzghar in the jma'th of Aith Bukhrif.
In Isrihan of Aith Yusif w 'Ari: Ishshuyen in the jma'th of Upper Ixatshumen and Ijarayen in that of Lower Ixatshumen.

Whether they are in fact descended from the Marinids (a dynasty in Morocco, 1213-1465) is problematical. What is sure, however, is that the inhabitants of the City of Nkur, which was destroyed by the Almoravid Yusif ibn Tashfint in 1084, could not possibly have been Marinids.

[114] 126--According to our notes, not only is there no dharfiqth of this name in Tazurakhth, but none of the lineages there are autochthonous, their ancestors all having come from elsewhere.

[196] 127--The term yinn, "those of", is roughly synonymous with aith, "people of:, but Rifians tend to use it only when speaking of lower level segments.

128--The name ibaranen means "partridges" (sing. abaran); the names of all the other small lineages listed here refer to the lineage ancestors.

129--In the Berber dialect of the Central Atlas, aghwilas means "panther" (fem. taghwilast); and the Rifian thaghirasth is a cognate form. There are panthers still to be found in parts of the Central Atlas today, though none in the Rif.

[114] 130--This lineage is not named by Blanco, and our field notes show no record of it.

[114] 131--It would indeed. The question really is: why should any attempt have been made by the administration to reunite two or more related lineage branches after scission had occurred and after they had not only become separated in space but incorporated into new jma'ths? One might almost think that Blanco is looking (in vain, it must be added) for an artificial neatness in the lineage structure of Aith Waryaghar which has no correspondence with any social reality.

132--Although he has obvious misgivings about it, Blanco appears to resign himself, in this passage, to an acceptance of the structural status quo!

[114] 133--"Tributaries" is the wrong word here; "offshoots" would be better.

134--Mutual rights of two related jma'ths certainly include participation in the collection of fines, and in certain cases (according to inheritance) reciprocal rights in property cultivation; but they do not include contributions to the fqih, as each jma'th has its own fiqh.

175 [131] taken verbatim from an 11th century chronicler, al-Bakri): 1) that most of the present Rifian tribes (of which several, including the Bni Waryaghal, Gzinnaya and Marnisa [the last today Arabic-speaking] are mentioned by name) then occupied more or less the same tribal areas, with respect to each other, that they do today; and 2) that vis-a-vis the members of the Salihid dynasty of Nakur, they were the "barbarians at the gates", ready to help pillage the city at a moment's notice when a strong man appeared from outside, and possibly also backsliding from the new religion of Islam. We thus have evidence that the present Rifian tribes have been in the Rif for at least a millenium, and that 192 their reputation as troublemakers goes back to that time! No archaeological excavations, prehistoric, early historic or Islamic, have been made in the region at all, to date.

000 [113] 5--The paper which Blanco refers to is probably L. Milliot, "Nouveaux Qanuns Kabyles" in Hespéris, 1926; these qanuns were written up by the Kabyles in very bad French, and not in Arabic at all!

6--The Spaniards never had any option of recognizing an "area of custom" in Northern Morocco, because the fact of 'Abd al-Krim's already firm implantation of the Shari'a gave them, in effect, little or no say in [114] the matter. This is a fundamental fact which Blanco continued to overlook.

7--Raqba, literally "neck" in Arabic, "bloodfeud, vengeance" in Kabyle. [196] The proper term in Rifian is r-'adhawth (from Arabic l-'Adawa), literally "hatred", while aminghi (from Berber ngh, "to kill") is "struggle, fight, battle".

[784] 7a--Market day in the Rif is, in effect, the most sacred day in the week; the market is a place of peace and commercial transaction, and it is [682] haram; to try to carry on a feud in the market, or to kill or wound a person there is haram. The market was, indeed, so much the only place of peace in the Rif that the fine for murder within its limits was 2000 duros, double that for murder on any of the market roads. These fines were paid by murderers and/or their agnates to the imgharen and split up in more or less equal parts among the tribes or segments of tribes who formed the constituents of the market in question. Whenever a real fight started, the market was considered to have been "broken" (yarraz s-suq) for that day. Everyone attending went home at once, but the following week the market was open for business again.

8--Mkhazni: a soldier of the Moroccan government of Makhzin who is a member of a special unit, the Mkhazniya (today, since independence, Makhzin Mobile, or "Forces Auxiliaires"), and has nothing to do with the regular army.

[196] 9--These are both "fighting" words in Rifian: mmis nj-haram, literally "sons of the forbidden", casts grave doubts, in the speaker's mind, about the legitimacy of the ancestry of the person spoken or referred to, while mmis n-dhit, although it might mean "son of the eye" to someone unacquanted with finer shades of meaning in the Rif, means in fact "son of the anus", and as such, it speaks for itself.